

## Message Text

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PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-06 AGRE-00 NEA-10 /095 W  
-----201804Z 117581 /43

R 201708Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4891  
INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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AMEMBASSY MADRID  
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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 01199

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ECIN, PFOR, EC, GW  
SUBJECT: FRG VIEWS ON GREEK, PORTUGUESE, SPANISH, AND  
TURKISH INTEREST IN ACCESSION TO THE COMMUNITY

REF: (A) 76 EC BRUSSELS 12572; (B) 76 EC BRUSSELS 12595;  
(C) EC BRUSSELS 310; (D) EC BRUSSELS A-4

1. SUMMARY: FRG OFFICIALS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND  
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ECONOMICS MINISTRY WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE GREEK  
ACCESSION TALKS AND THE INTEREST IN ACCESSION OF OTHER  
MEDITERRANEAN STATES TOLD EMBOFF THAT FRG IS PREPARED  
NOW TO SUPPORT FULL PORTUGUESE AS WELL AS GREEK  
ACCESSION, AND SPANISH ACCESSION AFTER THIS YEAR'S  
ELECTIONS. THEY FIATLY REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF  
TURKISH ACCESSION FOR THE FORESEEABIE FUTURE. THEY

BELIEVE THAT ACCESSION OF THESE STATES WILL REQUIRE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN CAP AND OTHER COMMUNITY PROGRAMS, WILL COMPLICATE THE COMMUNITY'S DECISION-MAKING PROBLEMS, AND MAY DO MORE HARM THAN BENEFIT TO THE ECONOMIES OF THE NEW MEMBERS. THEY NEVERTHELESS BELIEVE THESE DRAWBACKS ARE OUT-WEIGHED BY THE FRG'S POLITICAL INTEREST IN LINKING THESE STATES AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE TO THE COMMUNITY. THESE OFFICIALS PROVIDED A FRANK AND OFTEN CRITICAL VIEW OF THE ACCESSION PROBLEMS. THEIR COMMENTS SHOULD BE CAREFULLY PROTECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. DR. TRUMPF, WHO HEADS MFA DESK RESPONSIBLE FOR EC ASSOCIATION AND ACCESSION AGREEMENTS, AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MORAWITZ IN ECONOMICS MINISTRY, REVIEWED WITH EMBOFF THE PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY GREEK, PORTUGUESE, SPANISH AND TURKISH INTEREST IN JOINING THE COMMUNITY. BOTH OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT THE FRG SUPPORTS FULL MEMBERSHIP FOR ALL BUT TURKEY. HOWEVER THEY DID NOT DOWNPLAY THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITY WHICH THEY FORESEE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ACCESSION OF THIS GROUP OF POOR AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. WHEN CONSIDERED ALONG WITH ITALY, TRUMPF FEARED THAT THE COMMUNITY MIGHT BE CREATING ITS OWN MEZZOGIORNO. HE FORESAW THAT THE DEMANDS MADE BY THESE COUNTRIES ON THE COMMUNITY'S RESOURCES WILL BE VERY LARGE AND THAT IT WILL BE MOST DIFFICULT TO FULFILL THEM. THUS TENSIONS BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN MEMBERS MIGHT BE SEVERE, TO THE POINT EVEN CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT THEY COULD PULL THE COMMUNITY APART OR AT LEAST PREVENT IT FROM MOVING TOWARD ANY GREATER INTEGRATION.

3. FURTHERMORE, IN TRUMPF'S VIEW, COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP WOULD IN MANY RESPECTS NOT BE SUITABLE FOR THE ECONOMIES OF THESE COUNTRIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SPAIN TO SOME DEGREE, THEIR INDUSTRIAL SECTORS ARE WEAK, BEING IN MOST CASES AT LITTLE MORE THAN THE HANDICRAFT STAGE. THEY ARE IN NO POSITION AT ALL TO COMPETE WITH INDUSTRIES IN THE NINE, YET ACCESSION WOULD BRING THE NECESSITY TO BREAK DOWN TARIFF BARRIERS WHICH NOW PROTECT THESE INDUSTRIES. FURTHER, AS THESE COUNTRIES TRY TO BRING ABOUT THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES NEEDED TO MODERNIZE THEIR ECONOMIES, THEY WILL FIND THAT THE EC'S AGRICULTURAL POLICIES ARE WORKING AGAINST THEM.

4. IN TRUMPF'S VIEW, THE CAP IS DESIGNED CHIEFLY TO PROTECT THE INCOME OF RELATIVELY SMALL AGRICULTURAL

SECTORS IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES. IF THE CAP  
IS EXTENDED TO THESE UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES, THE  
CONSEQUENT PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME IN THEIR  
ECONOMIES WILL FRUSTRATE EFFORTS TO SHIFT PRODUCTION

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PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-06 AGRE-00 NEA-10 /095 W  
-----201803Z 117633 /42

R 201708Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4892  
INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
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FACTORS FROM AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRIAL SECTORS. THE  
WEALTHIER INDUSTRIAL MEMBERS FOR THEIR PART WOULD NOT  
BE ABLE TO FUND THE HUGE FLOW OF RESOURCES THAT WOULD  
BE REQUIRED ON A CONTINUING BASIS IF THE PRESENT SYSTEM  
WERE EXPANDED TO COVER THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF  
GREATEST INTEREST TO SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND GREECE.

SHOULD THE WEALTHY MEMBERS REFUSE TO EXTEND THE CAP  
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TO THESE PRODUCTS, THEY WILL LEAVE THEMSELVES OPEN TO THE COMPLAINT (ALREADY VOICED BY THE ITALIANS) THAT THE CAP AS WELL AS OTHER EC PROGRAMS IS SKEWED IN FAVOR OF THE NORTHERN MEMBER STATES. THE NINE SHOULD THEREFORE RECOGNIZE THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO RESHAPE THE CAP FUNDAMENTALLY OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, IF THE COMMUNITY IS TO AVOID A NORTH/SOUTH RIFT AS IT BRINGS IN NEW MEMBERS.

5. TRUMPF ADDED THAT EXPANSION WOULD ALSO INTENSIFY THE INSTITUTIONAL AND DECISION-MAKING PROBLEMS FACED BY THE COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT THAT THESE PROBLEMS TEND TO BE OVEREMPHASIZED. THE COMMUNITY HAS ALWAYS FACED PROBLEMS WITH DECISION-MAKING. THIS WAS NOT EASY IN THE COMMUNITY OF SIX AND IT HAS OF COURSE BEEN A PROBLEM AS THE COMMUNITY EXPANDED TO NINE, BUT THESE PROBLEMS ARE MANAGEABLE. IN ANY CASE, NEW COMMUNITY MEMBERS MUST BE GIVEN FULL RIGHTS AS WELL AS ASSUME FULL OBLIGATIONS. TRUMPF STRONGLY BELIEVED THAT THE TWO-TIERED APPROACH IS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE OPTION. MORAWITZ TREATED INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS MORE SERIOUSLY. HE POINTED OUT THAT THESE COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE FULL VOTING RIGHTS IN THE COUNCIL AS SOON AS THEY SIGNED A TREATY OF ACCESSION, AND THAT THE IMPACT OF ENLARGEMENT ON THE COMMUNITY'S DECISION-MAKING MIGHT NOT BE TOO FAR AWAY. HE RECALLED THAT THE COMMISSION HAD RECOMMENDED AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO PORTUGAL THAT FULL VOTING RIGHTS BE WITHHELD DURING AN INITIAL STAGE OF ACCESSION, BUT THAT THE MEMBER STATES HAD REJECTED THIS RECOMMENDATION. IN HIS VIEW, DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF THIS SORT COULD NOT BE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO AN ACCEDING STATE, AND THUS IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE COMMUNITY'S INTEREST IN DRAWING THESE COUNTRIES CLOSER TO WESTERN EUROPE.

6. NEVERTHELESS, BOTH OFFICIALS BELIEVED THAT THE  
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PROBLEMS CAUSED BY ENLARGEMENT ARE OUTWEIGHED BY THE STRONG POLITICAL ARGUMENTS FAVORING MEMBERSHIP. IN ADDITION TO THE BASIC GERMAN INTEREST IN MAINTAINING SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, TRUMPF NOTED THAT TRENDS TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE SHOULD CERTAINLY BE

ENCOURAGED. IN HIS VIEW, THE COMMUNITY SHOULD NOT REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANY EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY WHICH WISHES TO JOIN. IN FACT, THERE IS NO BASIS IN THE TREATY OF ROME FOR EXCLUDING REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENTS. THE ACCESSION PROCESS FOR GREECE, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN WILL BE LONG, PERHAPS STRETCHING FOR TWO DECADES. IN THIS TIME FRAME IT CAN EASILY BE ENVISAGED THAT OTHER COUNTRIES WILL WANT TO APPLY: SWITZERLAND, NORWAY AND SWEDEN, IN PARTICULAR.

7. PORTUGAL: IN PREPARING FOR SOARES' VISIT TO BONN, THE FRG IS TRYING TO DEVELOP A PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH PORTUGAL AND THE MEMBER STATES OPPOSING FULL PORTUGUESE MEMBERSHIP, NOTABLY FRANCE AND ITALY. TRUMPF INDICATED THAT THE FRG PLANS TO ADVISE SOARES TO PRESS FOR A COMMITMENT FROM THE NINE TO SUPPORT EVENTUAL PORTUGUESE MEMBERSHIP, TOGETHER WITH AN EXPANDED PACKAGE OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND GREATER ACCESS TO COMMUNITY MARKETS. TRUMPF ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE COMMUNITY LACKS LEGAL POWER TO OFFER ANY SPECIAL FORM OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASSOCIATION AND FULL MEMBERSHIP. HOWEVER, IN PRACTICE, THE COMMUNITY COULD CERTAINLY FIND A WAY TO OFFER AN ATTRACTIVE PACKAGE TO PORTUGAL. IF SOARES AGREES, THE FRG IN TURN WILL COMMIT ITSELF TO PUSH WITHIN THE NINE FOR AGREEMENT ON MAKING SUCH AN OFFER TO PORTUGAL. TRUMPF BELIEVED THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN MEMBER-STATE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS APPROACH. HOWEVER, TRUMPF FORESAW THAT SOARES MIGHT WELL INSIST ON INITIATING NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO FULL MEMBERSHIP. IN THIS EVENT HE IS QUITE SURE THAT SOARES COULD WIN FRG  
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SUPPORT. HOWEVER HE FORESAW THAT IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN APPROVAL FROM ALL OTHER MEMBER COUNTRIES. EVEN IF THIS HURDLE IS PASSED, TRUMPF EXPRESSED SOME DOUBT THAT THE ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS

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PA-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-06 AGRE-00 NEA-10 /095 W

-----201803Z 117712 /42

R 201708Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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THEMSELVES WOULD SUCCEED. RECALLING THAT THE COMMUNITY HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO BE A VERY TOUGH BARGAINER IN ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS, HE COMMENTED THAT THE PORTUGUESE MIGHT FIND THAT MEMBERSHIP WOULD NOT BE WORTH THE COST.

8. GREECE: FRG OFFICIALS ARE QUICK TO POINT OUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EC COUNCIL'S DECISION AGREEING TO CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMBERSHIP FOR GREECE AND TO CONFIRM FRG SUPPORT FOR THIS DECISION. NEVERTHELESS MORAWITZ, WHO VISITED GREECE IN LATE NOVEMBER, EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM OVER GREECE'S ABILITY TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY AND FORESAW A PROTRACTED SET OF ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS EXTENDING INTO THE 1980'S. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IS NOT AT ALL PREPARED FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS, NOR IS IT TAKING THE RIGHT STEPS TO ORGANIZE ITSELF. ATHENS HAS BROUGHT TOGETHER A STAFF OF SOME 400 OFFICIALS TO HANDLE THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH MORAWITZ OPINED WOULD BE FAR TOO

LARGE TO BE EFFECTIVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, NO STEPS AT ALL HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO DISCUSS THE IMPLICATIONS OF COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR. ADDRESSING A SEMINAR IN THESSALONIKI, MORAWITZ FOUND GREEK BUSINESS LEADERS WOEFULLY IGNORANT OF THE OBLIGATIONS ENTAILED IN JOINING THE COMMUNITY. FOR INSTANCE, THESE BUSINESSMEN WERE SHOCKED WHEN HE INFORMED THEM THAT GREECE WOULD OVER TIME HAVE TO EXTEND DUTY-FREE TREATMENT TO IMPORTS FROM THE MASHREK, MAHGREB, AND ACP COUNTRIES AS WELL AS FROM THE NINE, THUS ELIMINATING TARIFFS ON 80 PERCENT OF TOTAL GREEK IMPORTS.

9. TRUMPF ALSO RECOGNIZED THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH GREECE WILL FACE IN JOINING THE COMMUNITY, BUT WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS WILL SUCCEED. HIS CONFIDENCE RESTS ON HIS CONVICTION THAT CARAMANLIS BELIEVES THAT MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY IS SO IMPORTANT FOR GREECE THAT IT IS WORTH ANY ECONOMIC COSTS. WHILE GREECE IS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN ASSURING ITSELF OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT IN ITS RIVALRY WITH TURKEY, TRUMPF BELIEVES THAT A FAR MORE IMPORTANT ELEMENT MOTIVATING CARAMANLIS IS THAT THE CLOSE TIES TO WESTERN EUROPE ACHIEVED THROUGH COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP ARE NECESSARY TO PROTECT GREEK DEMOCRACY.

10. SPAIN: IN THE FRG VIEW, THE PROBLEM OF SPANISH  
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ACCESSION IS NOT SO MUCH ECONOMIC AS POLITICAL. WITH ITS MUCH LARGER ECONOMY, SPAIN WILL PRESENT A DIFFICULT "LUMP" FOR THE COMMUNITY TO SWALLOW. THERE WILL CERTAINLY BE PROBLEMS WITH OPENING COMMUNITY MARKETS TO SPANISH AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND TO ACCEPTANCE OF SPANISH WORKERS, BUT THE MORE DEVELOPED SPANISH INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IS IN A MUCH BETTER SITUATION TO COMPETE. HOWEVER, SEVERAL OF THE NINE, PARTICULARLY THE NETHERLANDS AND DENMARK, HAVE NOT SLACKENED THEIR OPPOSITION TO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP ON POLITICAL GROUNDS. THIS IS A LESSER PROBLEM FOR BONN, AND TRUMPF STATED THAT THE FRG IS PREPARED TO SUPPORT SPANISH ACCESSION FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS IN SPAIN.

11. TURKEY: TRUMPF AND MORAWITZ DO NOT BELIEVE THAT FULL MEMBERSHIP CAN BE OFFERED TO TURKEY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THEY STRESSED THAT TURKEY REMAINS AN UNDERDEVELOPED ECONOMY WITH NO CHANCE AT ALL FOR COMPETING WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN INDUSTRY. MOREOVER, IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS BEGUN UNDER ATATURK WILL CONTINUE, IN VIEW OF THE INCREASING SIGNS OF OPPOSITION WITHIN TURKEY TO CLOSER

TIES WITH THE WEST. AS A COMMUNITY MEMBER, TURKEY  
WOULD DEMAND AND EXPECT TO RECEIVE HUGE AMOUNTS OF AID.  
WHILE THE NINE ARE PREPARED TO AID TURKEY, AND IN FACT  
ARE ALREADY DOING SO IN A SIZEABLE DEGREE, THEY WOULD  
CLEARLY NOT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ALL THE ASSISTANCE WHICH  
TURKEY FEEL WAS ITS DUE. SEVERE TENSIONS ON THIS  
ACCOUNT WOULD THUS BE QUITE LIKELY. THE TURKISH WORKER  
PROBLEM ALSO APPEARS INSUPERABLE, AS LONG AS TURKEY  
REMAINS SUCH AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY. SINCE FULL  
MEMBERSHIP WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE FOR ELIMINATION OF  
BARRIERS TO ENTRY OF TURKISH WORKERS, THIS PROBLEM  
ALONE WILL CONTINUE TO CAUSE GREAT HESITATION TO  
ACCEPTANCE OF TURKISH MEMBERSHIP.

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12. IN RESPONSE TO EMBOFF QUERY, TRUMPF SAID THAT  
DECEMBER 20 COUNCIL MEETING WITH TURKEY ENDED  
SUCCESSFULLY, BECAUSE TURKEY AGREED TO ACCEPT A  
COMMUNITY OFFER WHICH WAS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THE

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PREVIOUS OFFERS TURKEY REJECTED IN JULY AND SEPTEMBER.  
TO BE SURE, A LITTLE WINDOW DRESSING HAD BEEN ADDED.  
TURKEY RECEIVED A SLIGHTLY LARGER QUOTA FOR OLIVE OIL,  
BUT THEY COULD HAVE RECEIVED THIS EARLIER IF THEY HAD  
NEGOTIATED. THE SECOND PREFERENCE GRANTED FOR TURKISH  
WORKERS IS REALLY QUITE MEANINGLESS. IT ONLY MEANS  
THAT, ONCE THE FRG OR OTHERS DECIDE TO ACCEPT NEW  
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WORKERS, THEY MUST ACCEPT WORKERS FROM TURKEY. EVEN  
THIS COMMITMENT IS FILLED WITH LOOPHOLES, GIVING  
COUNTRIES LIKE BRITAIN AND FRANCE THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
LOOK FIRST TO COUNTRIES FROM WHICH THEY HAVE  
TRADITIONALLY OBTAINED FOREIGN WORKERS. FOR THE  
GERMAN PART, THIS COMMITMENT HAS PROBABLY STIFFENED  
THE RESOLVE OF LABOR MINISTRY OFFICIALS NOT TO LIFT  
THE PRESENT BARRIERS AGAINST HIRING OF FOREIGN WORKERS.  
IN THE MEDIUM-TERM - THAT IS, FOUR TO FIVE YEARS -  
TRUMPF SEES NO CHANCE THAT NEW TURKISH WORKERS WOULD  
BE ADMITTED INTO THE FRG. HE ADDED THAT THE FOREIGN  
WORKER ISSUE WILL PRESENT PROBLEMS IN THE ACCESSION  
NEGOTIATIONS WITH PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND GREECE AS WELL.  
IN CONTRAST TO THE ACCESSION AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED WITH  
THE UK, DENMARK AND IRELAND, THE NEW ACCESSION AGREE-  
MENTS WILL ALMOST SURELY HAVE TO INCLUDE PROVISIONS FOR  
PHASING-OUT OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME THE PRESENT  
BARRIERS AGAINST FREE MIGRATION OF WORKERS. IN A FINAL  
COMMENT ON TURKEY, TRUMPF SAID THAT IT WOULD BE FAR  
PREFERABLE TO HOLD TURKEY TO THE WEST THROUGH NATO THAN  
THROUGH EC MEMBERSHIP.

13. COMMENT: THE POLITICAL CASE FOR ENLARGEMENT  
(FROM THE GERMAN VIEW) COMES THROUGH STRONGLY IN THE  
CONVERSATIONS REPORTED ABOVE, AS IT HAS REPEATEDLY IN  
CONTACTS WITH OFFICIALS WHO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL  
SIDE OF THE EC. THE FACT THAT THE ECONOMIES OF THE

MEDITERRANEAN STATES GENERALLY COMPLEMENT AND DO NOT  
COMPETE WITH THE FRG ECONOMY ASSISTS THE FRG TO  
EMPHASIZE THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES OF ENLARGEMENT. THE  
CONCLUSION THAT THE FRG MUST CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABILITY  
OF THESE COUNTRIES WHETHER THEY ARE IN OR OUT OF THE EC  
AGAIN FACILITATES SUPPORT FOR ENLARGEMENT. THE NEED  
TO CEMENT TURKEY'S TIES WITH THE WEST, AS WELL AS THE  
DESIRE TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE CYPRUS DEBATE,  
ARE THE MAIN REASONS BEHIND GERMAN INTEREST IN THE  
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EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

HAVING SAID ALL THIS, IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US AT THIS  
STAGE HOW HARD THE FRG IS WILLING TO LEAN ON ITS EC  
PARTNERS IN THE UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS. ON PORTUGAL,  
FOR EXAMPLE, THE FRG SEEMS TO BE WILLING TO MAINTAIN  
EC SOLIDARITY WHEN SOARES TOURS EC CAPITALS, ALTHOUGH  
IT THINKS THAT THE POLITICAL REASONS FOR MOVING  
PRETTY QUICKLY ARE STRONG. THE LIKELY RESULT MAY BE  
ESPOUSAL BY THE FRG OF AN EARLY START IN NEGOTIATIONS  
(WITH THE VARIOUS APPLICANTS) -- TO UNDERLINE THE  
DESIRABILITY OF ENLARGEMENT -- OFFSET BY A LONG  
NEGOTIATING PROCESS TO RESOLVE THE MANY ECONOMIC  
QUESTIONS WHICH ENLARGEMENT POSES.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Executive Order:** GS  
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**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3551886  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FRG VIEWS ON GREEK, PORTUGUESE, SPANISH, AND TURKISH INTEREST IN ACCESSION TO THE COMMUNITY  
**TAGS:** ECIN, PFOR, EC, GE, GR, SP, TU, PO, EEC  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/e7f607d4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
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Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009